

EIGHTEENTH

ANNUAL REPORT

OF THE

BOARD OF MANAGERS

OF THE

MASSACHUSETTS COLONIZATION SOCIETY.

PRESENTED AT THE ANNUAL MEETING,

MAY 25, 1859.

BOSTON:

PRESS OF T. R. MARVIN & SON, 42 CONGRESS STREET.

1859.

(3-26-55)

ANNUAL MEETING.

3-15-55
The MASSACHUSETTS COLONIZATION SOCIETY held its Eighteenth Annual Meeting at its Office in Boston, at 12 o'clock at noon, on Wednesday, May 25, 1859; Hon. A. R. THOMPSON, Vice President, in the chair.

The Treasurer's Account, with the Auditor's Certificate, was presented and accepted.

The Annual Report of the Board of Managers was presented, accepted, and extracts ordered to be read at the public meeting this afternoon.

The Officers for the last year were unanimously elected, by ballot, to the same offices for the year to come; except that JOHN AIKEN, Esq., was chosen a member of the Board of Managers, in place of Dr. DANIEL WHITE, who was compelled, by change of residence and business, to decline re-election.

The Society then adjourned, to meet at the Second Congregational Church, in Bedford Street, for public exercises.

AFTERNOON.—The Society met, according to adjournment. The President being absent in Europe, the Hon. A. R. THOMPSON, Vice President, took the chair.

After prayer by the Rev. J. O. MEANS, of Roxbury, the reading of extracts from the Annual Report by the Secretary, and an introductory statement from the Chair,

The meeting was addressed by E. H. DERBY, Esq., and briefly by the Rev. R. W. CUSHMAN, Hon. B. C. CLARK, T. R. MARVIN, Esq., Rev. REUBEN EMERSON, and Rev. J. ORCUTT, a Secretary of the American Colonization Society; and was closed with the benediction, by the Rev. R. EMERSON.

and. Coll. Soc. University Place. Brook St. A.

OFFICERS OF THE SOCIETY.

1859.

PRESIDENT.

WILLIAM ROPES, Esq.

VICE PRESIDENTS.

REV. E. S. GANNETT, D. D.	REV. CHARLES BROOKS,
REV. HEMAN HUMPHREY, D. D.	HON. A. R. THOMPSON,
R. A. CHAPMAN, Esq.	DR. J. V. C. SMITH,
REV. EBENEZER BURGESS, D. D.	DR. WILLIAM R. LAWRENCE,
HON. B. C. CLARK.	

SECRETARY, GENERAL AGENT, AND TREASURER.

REV. JOSEPH TRACY.

AUDITOR.


HENRY EDWARDS.

MANAGERS.

REV. G. W. BLAGDEN, D. D.	JAMES HAYWARD,
ALBERT FEARING,	DR. A. R. THOMPSON,
T. R. MARVIN,	HENRY PLYMPTON.
JAMES C. DUNN,	REV. JOHN O. MEANS,
JOHN AIKEN.	

AGENT.

REV. M. G. PRATT.

 *The Society's Office is at No. 26 Joy's Building, Washington Street, Boston.*

ANNUAL REPORT.

Emigration from Massachusetts.

DURING the past year, twenty emigrants have gone from Massachusetts to Liberia; a larger number than in any former year. They were a part of the Association mentioned in our last Report, having its centre at Cambridge. This pioneer party consisted of nine males, including the President of the Association, and eleven females. The average of their ages was a small fraction less than thirty years, which is much higher than usual. One of them was sixty-seven years of age, five were between fifty and sixty, and only six under twenty.

They left Boston in the Steam Packet Joseph Whitney, and arrived at Baltimore in season to take passage in the Society's ship, November 1, 1858. After some detention on the ship's business at Sierra Leone and Robertsport, they reached Monrovia, December 24. At the latest dates, two of the oldest females had died, one from the effect of a fall, and the other from diseases of the heart and other organs, of long standing. The others had all had some fever, and were doing well. Some were already engaged in profitable business, and nearly all are said to have found the country more satisfactory than they had expected.

The President and some other members of this company had accumulated small amounts of property, and none of them were entirely destitute. Yet their neighbors in Cambridge, where nearly all of them resided, thought that they ought to have some assistance in commencing life in their new home. At a meeting of citizens, a committee was appointed, who obtained subscriptions for that purpose, invested the greater part of the proceeds in judicious purchases, and divided the small remainder among them on their embarkation. As the providing of this outfit was no part of the work of this Society, the money did not pass through its Treas-

ury, and its exact amount is not known, but is understood to be between \$600 and \$700.

This Association still retains its organization ; and if reports from this pioneer company continue as favorable as we have reason to hope, a large part of them will soon join them in their new home.

The arrangements for the departure of these emigrants, and their passage to Baltimore, were made by the Rev. John Orcutt, traveling Secretary of the Parent Society, whose official duty it was ; in which he was aided by the Rev. M. G. Pratt, agent of this State Society. The funds necessary to meet the expense of their passage and acclimation, were raised by Mr. Orcutt, in Boston and its vicinity, and remitted to the Parent Society at Washington.

Movements of Colored People towards Emigration. Civilization Society. Yoruba.

Influences like those which have led to this Cambridge movement have been operating extensively, and promise important results. Many colored people feel that the struggles of the past quarter of a century have done but very little, and, if continued, promise to do but little, in releasing them from the disadvantages of their present position, and that the action of both the National and State Governments is, on the whole, growing steadily more adverse to their interests, and indeed, more unjust and unkind ; and at the same time, the reports of travelers, and especially those of the Rev. T. J. Bowen, missionary in Yoruba, have given them new views of Africa, and of what they might do there. In August last, a convention of colored people, of the United States and Canada, appointed a Committee to visit Africa, for the purpose of selecting a suitable location for "a new Industrial Settlement." Members of that Committee visited Boston a few weeks since, to procure funds to meet the expense of their exploration. The amount obtained here is not known, but is believed not to be large. It is understood, however, that the amount procured from all sources has been sufficient to defray the expenses of two explorers, and that one of the Committee has commenced his voyage by way of England, and another has sailed from New York for Monrovia.

Since the meeting of that Convention, an "African Civilization Society" has been formed, having its centre at New York, and some white men among its officers. An agent of this Society has

been diffusing information and collecting funds for some months in this and other New England States ; but we are not informed of the amount.

These movements of the Colored Convention and the Civilization Society, we may reasonably hope, will lead ultimately to some beneficial results ; though the plans of those engaged in them must be very much modified. Yoruba, to which their attention has been almost exclusively directed, is a region to which a few good business men and missionaries may probably go advantageously ; but it is no place for planting a self-governing colony, to grow into a nation. It is wholly an inland country. The sea-coast through which it must be reached, is more difficult of access by water, and more unhealthy, than that of Liberia. The landing of the materials for a colony, and their transportation ninety miles or more into Yoruba, would be attended with great and permanent difficulties. And besides all this, the internal condition of the country is extremely unfavorable to such an attempt. Nor does any other part of the coast present a more inviting field. The result, therefore, must be, emigration to Liberia. There they may find 520 miles of sea-coast which is their own. The high and healthy interior approaches nearer to the coast, and can be more easily reached ; and the means of transportation are at least equally good. The climate is as favorable to health. The soil is as productive. The productions are nearly the same. Cotton is grown, and made into cloth. Iron is smelted from the ore, and wrought. The population is in small tribes, residing in small towns, with room enough for new comers, well disposed, at present, to receive them, and if they should become hostile, less capable of becoming dangerous enemies. For hundreds of miles inland, they have some knowledge of colored emigrants from America ; and as far as is known, which is to a great extent, are disposed to encourage their settlement among them.

Our conclusion is, that this movement in the United States is so extensive, so earnest, and prompted by such good and sufficient reasons, that it cannot wholly subside, but must have some result ; and that the same good sense which has directed their attention to Africa, will, after their explorations, direct them to that part of Africa where they can best and most easily accomplish their object.

We expect, then, within a few years, a very large emigration to

Liberia; but how it will be related to our Society, is yet to be decided. The movement has commenced among those who regard us with entire distrust. They still keep it wholly in their own hands. They select and send out their own explorers, men chosen from among themselves, whose statements they think they can believe. None of their Committee take passage in our ship. One goes by way of England, and the other in a vessel owned by a colored firm residing in New York and Monrovia. If they choose and are able to keep the work wholly in their own hands, we have no objections. If they will carry it on so wisely and successfully as to supersede the necessity of our labors, we will gladly retire from the field, and leave it wholly to them. There is, among the colored people of the United States and Liberia, ability enough, both mental and pecuniary, if it can all be enlisted, to conduct the whole work, wisely and well, and we should rejoice to see them do it.

That this may be done to some extent, is not at all improbable. Their commercial operations show it. Two facts of this kind deserve special notice.

One, already alluded to, is the formation of the firm of Johnson, Turpin & Dunbar, for trade between New York and Monrovia. Its members are John D. Johnson, for several years past a merchant in Monrovia; Joseph H. Turpin, well known as a business man in New York, and understood to be wealthy; and Charles B. Dunbar, M. D., who, having once visited Liberia, leaves a good medical practice in New York, to reside as a merchant in Monrovia. They have purchased—or chartered—statements differ—the bark Mendi, which sailed from New York yesterday, May 24, having on board the three partners, with a cargo worth more than \$20,000; the family of Mr. Johnson; a Protestant Episcopal Missionary and his family; Dr. M. R. Delany, one of the explorers already mentioned; five other cabin passengers, and twenty-five emigrants, who go at the expense of the New York State Colonization Society; making 44 in all.

While the Mendi was preparing for her voyage, the Eusebia N. Roye arrived at New York, under the Liberian flag. This bark was formerly the George C. Ackerly, of New York; was purchased by Edward J. Roye, an eminent Liberian merchant, on a former visit, and was run till lately under her American flag and register. By changing her name and nationality, Mr. Roye subjected himself

to some additional inconvenience and expense. As the United States has no commercial treaty with Liberia, and as this was the first instance of such an arrival, the New York Custom-house officials seem to have been at first in some doubt how to deal with her and her "cargo of 35 tons of camwood, 28,000 gallons of palm oil, 800 pounds of ivory, some gold dust, coffee, syrup, 15 hogsheads of sugar, &c. &c." After some hesitation, it was decided that higher duties must be paid, both on vessel and cargo, than if she had been English, Dutch or Spanish. A few more such arrivals will show to some who have not yet seen it, that a commercial treaty between the two Republics ought to be made. This bark also will be glad of passengers.

STATE SOCIETY.—*Finances.*

The influence of these disturbing causes on our treasury have been very perceptible; in some respects, favorable, but mostly, adverse; but it has suffered less from them all, than from the necessity, which many of our friends have felt, of postponing their usual donations to another year. We have, also, received legacies only to the amount of \$175 00, against \$1,530 00 last year; an adverse difference of \$1,355 00. Yet our receipts have been \$4,543 05, which is \$186 59 more than last year. The disbursements have been \$7,078 71; being \$611 02 more than last year, raising the balance due the Treasurer to \$2,535 68. This account does not include the sums raised for the outfit of emigrants, or for explorations in Africa; or the larger amount received by the Trustees of Donations for Liberia College. We had hoped that the adverse balance would have been greatly reduced, if not quite extinguished, during the year; but, from causes, most of which have been already mentioned, a contrary result has been unavoidable.

PARENT SOCIETY.—*Emigrants.*

The disturbing influences which have been mentioned, and others, have perceptibly affected the operations of the Parent Society, diverting funds from its treasury, and emigrants from Liberia, by promises of a new colony in Yoruba. The calumnies of Capt. Simon, the agent of the French slave trade, had some effect for a time. The reaction, started by European and American speculators in sugar and cotton, in favor of slavery and the slave trade,

has begun to produce some effect at the South, unfavorable to emancipation. It has been decided in Virginia, that a Will, bequeathing to certain slaves the privileges of freedom *if they choose it*, is void, because slaves are regarded in law as incapable of choice; and according to the Will, the choice must be made while they were slaves. A bequest of freedom absolutely, it seems, would not have been liable to that objection. Owing to these causes, and probably to others not yet fully understood, the emigration for 1858 was unusually small. Thirty-eight free born, nine purchased by themselves or others, and 114 gratuitously emancipated, make up the whole number, 161.

Recaptured Africans.

Besides sending out these emigrants, the Parent Society has received under its care, from the Government of the United States, 200 re-captured Africans. The slaver *Echo*, formerly the *Putnam* of New Orleans, having on board 318 slaves, was captured by the U. S. brig *Dolphin*, Lieut. J. N. Maffit, August 21, brought into Charleston, S. C., and delivered to the U. S. Marshal, August 27. Many had died before her capture, and twelve after capture on her way to Charleston. Under the law of March 3, 1819, and believing "that there was no portion of the coast of Africa to which they could be removed with any regard to humanity, except to Liberia," the President, September 2, contracted with the Society to receive them in Liberia, to give them "comfortable shelter, clothing, provisions and medical attendance, for the period of one year from the time of their landing;" to "cause the children to receive schooling," and all to "be instructed in the arts of civilized life, suitable to their condition." For this service, the Society was to receive the sum of \$45,000 in full; and as there was no money in the Treasury applicable to that purpose, the President agreed to recommend the necessary appropriation. In former cases of this kind, the Society has received the recaptives in the United States, and conveyed them to Liberia. In this case, however, the Government preferred to send them in the U. S. Steam frigate *Niagara*. The officers of Government, both at home and on the voyage, appear to have acted with the best intentions; but they had no experience in such business, and the whole affair was very unskillfully managed. The recaptives had not recovered from their sufferings on board

the Echo, and were badly diseased when put on board the Niagara. Their health grew worse, and seventy-one died on the voyage, so that only 200 were delivered to the Society's Agent in Monrovia. They were immediately transferred to the Receptacle, and soon placed under the care of suitable persons in different parts of the Republic. Except a very few, who were almost at the point of death, they were soon restored to health. As the number transferred to the care of the Society was so much less than had been expected, the President, with the assent of the Executive Committee, recommended only such an appropriation as, under the circumstances, might be deemed equitable. The result is, the payment, acknowledged in the African Repository for May, of \$32,500. Of this amount, \$8,636 15 had been expended before the close of 1858, and the remainder has been expended, or will be needed, for the same purpose.

Emigration in 1859.

The emigration for 1859 is already greater than that for 1858. April 27, the ship Rebecca sailed from New Orleans, with 41 emancipated slaves from the McDonough estate. They were sent out by the Agents of the cities of New Orleans and Baltimore for the management of that estate. The Society is obliged to pay three-fourths of the expense of their passage, and to provide for them as for other emigrants after their arrival. The Society would have preferred to receive them at Baltimore, and to have sent them out with its other emigrants; but the Agents of the cities, who had the control of the business, decided otherwise. A New Orleans paper says: "They go provided with money, clothes, household implements and agricultural instruments of every description. A physician on board will look after their health during the voyage." Thomas Hyde, aged 19, liberated and well provided for by Dr. E. C. Hyde, goes with them, making forty-two in all.

May 12, the Society's ship, the M. C. Stevens, sailed from Baltimore with 99 emigrants. Of these, 25 are free born, 24 from Pennsylvania and one from Maryland. Among them are three ordained Presbyterian missionaries, educated at the Ashmun Institute. They are the Rev. Armistead Miller, who pursued his preparatory studies at the Alexander High School in Monrovia; the Rev. Thomas H. Amos, and the Rev. James R. Amos. The two latter are to be landed at Sinou. The remaining 74 were

slaves, emancipated by persons in Virginia, South Carolina, Georgia, and Louisiana. Fifty-four are intended to reinforce the settlement at Sinou, as also, probably, are those from the McDonough estate; though perhaps some of them may prefer to remain at or near Monrovia.

These, with the 25 emigrants by the Mendi, from New York, already mentioned, make a total of 166, without counting the 19 cabin passengers by the Mendi, nearly all of whom go out, intending to remain.

The McDonough Estate.

It was the intention of Mr. McDonough, that the slaves colonized from his estate should be replaced on the estate by others, to be also colonized in due time, and so on, "so long as slavery shall exist in this country." But the courts have decided against the literal execution of his Will, and have substituted for its provisions, what they deem an equitable division of the estate among the legatees. The Society has received from the estate, in 1856, \$12,345 09; in 1858, \$5,000; and in 1859, \$36,345 81; in all, \$53,879 90. This last payment, being foreseen, was appropriated by the Board of Directors at their meeting in January last, to a specific object of great importance, and therefore is not available to meet current expenses for ordinary purposes. The whole sum assigned to the Society by the courts was \$84,230 27; but when any further dividends may be expected, we are not informed.

LIBERIA.

Our information from Liberia is decidedly encouraging. There has been at least the usual prevalence of health, peace and plenty, and an apparent increase of enterprise and productive industry.

Sugar.

The production of sugar has been mentioned in our former Reports, as a hopeful business. This year, the E. N. Roye has brought to New York, 15 hogsheads of sugar, and a quantity of syrup, which was sold for 75 cents per gallon. The Antelope, of Boston, which sailed a few days later, yet in the midst of the sugar season, brought, besides 80,000 pounds of palm oil and other articles, 14,000 pounds of sugar, and about 1,500 gallons of

molasses. This amount has come, not as a curiosity, but for sale, in the way of business. Dr. Laing, who was present at our last anniversary, expected to make from six to ten tons; and there were others, whose crops would come in as fast as their inadequate supply of machinery could do the work. The whole crop of Mesurado County would be nearly or quite 100,000 pounds. As soon as they become able to supply themselves with the necessary amount of suitable machinery, the production must rapidly increase.

It has been said, in the West Indies, in Great Britain, in France, and in the United States, north as well as south, that the labor of black men is needed, to supply the world with sugar, and that black men, if left to themselves, will not make it; and therefore they must be made slaves, or brought under some system of constraint equivalent to slavery. Hence, mainly, the revival, within a few years, of the slave trade, first, under various disguises, and at last, by its true name. This argument, even if founded on fact, could have no force, except with those who value sugar, or the profits on sugar, more than they do righteousness. But this Liberian sugar, made and brought to market by black men left to themselves, leaves the poor scheme with no basis of fact to give it plausibility, and shows the oppressive system which it was intended to justify, to be as unnecessary as it is unjust.

Cotton.

The culture of cotton is less advanced, but is perhaps as promising as was that of sugar a few years ago. Cotton has been planted, grown, gathered, spun, knit and woven in Liberian families, and exhibited at their national fairs. The President of the Republic has sent us some samples, which are here present. They have been carefully examined by some of the best judges in Boston, and, though the price of cotton presented in this form cannot be exactly determined, the stock is pronounced to be of a very good quality, and such as will always command a ready sale, in any amount.

It is proved, therefore, that good cotton, well adapted to the markets of this country and of Europe, can be produced in Liberia. Whether it can be made profitable, and as profitable as other crops, for some time to come, is yet to be ascertained; as is also the practicability of opening a valuable trade in cotton with the natives in the interior.*

* See Appendix A.

That the interior of Liberia is well adapted to the growth of cotton, is proved, if there were any doubt of it, by the explorations of the Rev. G. L. Seymour. Aided by funds contributed in Mesurado and Bassa Counties, he has penetrated inland, according to his own reckoning, about 370 miles; making allowance for sinuosities and over-estimates, say, 200 miles. He visited places where they make, from their own cotton, all the cloth they have. He gives the number of looms in each of several villages. He found the country pleasant, well watered and fertile, and the people friendly and desirous of instruction. Besides cloth, he saw their manufactures of earthen ware and iron, which they smelt from the ore. Though the land is well adapted to agriculture, readily yielding good crops of rice and other food, but a small part of it appears to be under cultivation. It is doubtless the most inviting field for emigrants from the United States, to be found on the continent of Africa.*

To encourage the extension of commerce and agriculture in this direction, the legislature, at its last session, passed "An Act to maintain peace and enforce order on the highways to the Interior." The first section authorizes the President to employ military force to protect caravans, Liberian or native, between the coast and the interior, and to arrest and punish predatory natives who molest them. The second enacts that "whenever two or more Liberians shall apply to the Executive for permission to reside among the natives of the interior, to carry on business as farmers, or traders, or as both, and shall satisfy the Executive of their peaceable intentions, as well as resources to conduct the proposed operations," he shall grant them a permit and full protection in their enterprise. The remaining sections prescribe the mode of carrying out this policy, and appropriate the necessary funds. This Act has been passed, partly in consequence of frequent applications from the Interior Tribes for protection against a few small bands of marauders between them and the settlements. The respectable interior chiefs and their people may be relied on, to assist in executing it.

Under this law, civilization, Christianity, and all their attendant blessings, may penetrate the interior, as fast and far as suitable men can be found, either in Liberia or the United States, to carry them.

* See Appendix B.

FOREIGN RELATIONS.—*French Slave Trade.*

The foreign relations of Liberia remain undisturbed, except with France. Since the year 1855, the French Government, by its agents, has been endeavoring to procure, on the coasts of Liberia and other parts of Africa, a supply of laborers for her sugar-growing colonies. The pretence is, that they are all free men, who voluntarily enter into contracts, to labor in some of those colonies for a specified time. The facts are, that the French agents pay the native chiefs about as much as they formerly received for slaves, and the chiefs compel the men to volunteer and go on board, and when necessary, bind them with cords or chains and put them on board by force. Early in 1856, this practice was brought to the notice of the Liberian Government, and President Benson issued his proclamation, forbidding it; but by making fair promises and then breaking them, and by other dishonest devices, it was still continued. In the autumn of 1857, the Hon. J. J. Roberts, former President of the Republic, was commissioned to lay the matter before the Imperial Government at Paris. The British Government, which, some years before, had entered on a similar course, but, on learning its practical operation, had abandoned it, aided him with its influence, and it was hoped that the evil would cease. But the French Government still persevered. November 11, 1857, Capt. Simon, of the ship *Regina Cœli*, appeared at Monrovia, paid 8 per cent. duties on \$2,474 worth of goods and the usual port charges, and took out a coasting license in the usual form, as he was entitled to do by the laws of the Republic and its treaty with France. April 9, 1858, he had on board 271 natives, mostly purchased on the coast from Sugary to Gallinas, where the slave trade had been openly carried on and regarded as lawful, till its annexation to the Republic in May, 1852. On that day, April 9, while the ship was near Manna Point, a few miles north of Cape Mount, and Capt. Simon was on shore, these so-called "volunteers" rose, killed the greater part of the crew, and took possession of the ship. Capt. Simon was unable to regain possession, and sent first to Cape Mount and then to Monrovia for help. The French Consul applied to the Commander of the British mail steamer *Ethiope*, which happened to be at Monrovia, one day in advance of her time. Capt. Croft complied. He ran up the coast to Manna Roads, where, April 15, the natives on board gladly put themselves

under the protection of the British flag, and the *Ethiope* returned with the French ship to Monrovia. The officers of the *Ethiope* set up a claim for salvage, and after some days of discussion, the Marshal, by order of the Court of Admiralty, took possession of her. The "free laborers" on board, meanwhile, had taken the ship's boats, gone on shore, and disappeared. "P. Pointel, Esquire, chief of the staff of the French Naval Division of the West Coast of Africa," continued the discussion till May 8, when, a British ship-of-war which had been lying in the Roads having been obliged to leave, he took the *Regina Cœli* in tow of his steamship, the *Renandin*, forcibly expelled the Marshal and his posse, and departed.

Another French vessel, engaged in the same business, had been seized as a slaver by the Portuguese authorities on the south-east coast of Africa, and brought into Lisbon. Two French ships of war were sent into the Tagus, to enforce her delivery and the payment of damages. The Portuguese Government, without acknowledging itself in the wrong, succumbed to superior force.

The Liberians, declaring that they will be exterminated sooner than make any concession, have passed an act, forbidding "the enlisting or procuring of Native African Emigrants to transport beyond the high seas," under the penalties established by law "for the punishment of the slave trade;" and, being unable to meet the French at sea, have taken vigorous measures to prevent the native chiefs from furnishing emigrants.

Meanwhile, soon after the affair of the *Regina Cœli* became known in Europe, the French Emperor commissioned Prince Napoleon and others, to ascertain and report whether this business was really the slave trade in disguise, declaring that, if it was, he would have nothing to do with it. A report was made, in consequence of which, the business was abolished on the east coast of Africa. The British Government, in announcing this decision, expressed the confident hope, that it would soon be abolished on the west coast also. An attempt has been made, however, to continue it. Early in November, information was received that the French ship *Phenix*, Capt. Chevalier, was at Sugary procuring emigrants. Capt. Chevalier was an old offender, with whom the Government had had trouble since 1855. At the request of the President, the Hon. Francis Payne, Attorney General, was taken on board the British Steam sloop *Alecto* and conveyed up the coast. He found Chevalier, who at first refused to admit him on board the *Phenix*,

but at last reluctantly consented. He professed not to know that he was within the Liberian jurisdiction, and promised to discontinue his operations. Mr. Payne found a few emigrants on board. Among them, he recognized a Pessey boy, who had been brought up in the family of Cyrus Willis, an old farmer of Millsburgh, and was therefore called Tom Willis. On being questioned, Tom said that he had been seized and sold to Capt. Simon of the *Regina Cœli*; that after the mutiny, he escaped by swimming to shore, where he was caught by Tom Cole, a chief of Manna, kept in irons till the arrival of the *Phenix*, and then sold to Chevalier. Mr. Payne demanded his release. Chevalier consented to release him, on receiving the 150 francs, equal to \$28,50, which he had paid Tom Cole for him. The money was paid, and Chevalier gave his receipt for it, stating, in the receipt, that it was what he had paid Cole for Tom Willis, and thus furnishing under his own signature, the evidence necessary for his own conviction. When told how he had committed himself, he appeared very much frightened, said that his instructions were, not to trespass upon the jurisdiction of Liberia, and promised to desist forthwith. His vessel was not seized and brought into Monrovia, because the Attorney General had not a sufficient force, and the British Commander had not the necessary authority. The next day, the *Phenix* was missing, and has not been heard from since. The proof against Tom Cole, as a kidnapper for the French, is said to be complete, and he will be suitably punished, as will, probably, several other chiefs of that region.

Chevalier's statement, that he was instructed to avoid trespassing on Liberian jurisdiction, was probably true; and if so, we may hope that the difficulty with France is at an end, except the settlement for past outrages. Probably, Chevalier is allowed to operate on other parts of the coast, long enough to complete some existing contract, and then the whole thing will be abandoned. And then the whole continent of Africa will have been saved from this virtual revival of the slave trade, by the firm and enlightened statesmanship of the Republic of Liberia.

DONATIONS,

To the Massachusetts Colonization Society for the year ending April 30, 1859.

N. B. When the same person has made two donations within the financial year,—as for example, one in May, 1858, and another in April, 1859,—the amount of both is acknowledged. Donations received since April 30, 1859, will appear in the Report for next year. Besides the sums here acknowledged, sundry donors have remitted their donations directly to the Parent Society at Washington, and they have been acknowledged in the African Repository. Payments for the Repository are acknowledged in that publication, and are not in this list.

<i>Andover</i> , Rev. J. W. Turner,	\$2 00	Misses Griffin,	50
John Aiken,	10 00	David Lefavour,	1 00
Samuel Farrar,	10 00	George Floyd,	1 00
F. Cogswell,	5 00	Thomas Pickard,	50
W. Phillips Foster,	5 00	Samuel Dike,	25
S. H. Taylor,	5 00	Edward Burley,	30 00
J. S. Eaton,	5 00	A. N. Clark,	1 00—81 25
J. Chickering,	3 00	<i>Boston</i> , G. R. Fisk,	5 00
John Stimson,	3 00	Miss Margaret Newman,	2 00
Charles Tufts,	5 00	Jacob Bancroft,	10 00
J. A. Roberts,	2 00	S. J. Gordon,	5 00
Rev. W. G. T. Shedd,	3 00	E. B. Bigelow,	15 00
Dr. Stephen Tracy,	3 00	Miss A. M. Loring,	20 00
Moses Foster,	1 00	Sewall, Day & Co.	25 00
Mrs. B. H. Punchard,	5 00	Abner Ellis,	30 00
P. Barrows,	3 00	C. Stoddard,	10 00
Mrs. Susanna Tucker,	5 00	J. S. Lovering,	10 00
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 Dr. B. F. Wing
 Royalston, Rev. E. W. Bullard
 Salem, N. J. Lord
 George Peabody
 *Michael Shepard
 Mrs. A. H. Trask
 Saybrook, Ct., Rev. Ethan B. Crane

South Danvers, Rev. James O. Murray
 South Dartmouth, Rev. M. G. Wheeler
 Springfield, Daniel Bontecou
 Francis Brewer
 Rev. S. G. Buckingham
 Sturbridge, Rev. D. R. Austin
 *Perez Walker
 Taunton, West, Rev. Alvan Cobb
 Templeton, Mrs. Maria P. Sabin
 Townsend, *Joel Adams
 Upton, Dea. William Fisk
 Mrs. Ruth C. Fisk
 William Hale
 Thomas Hall
 E. B. Stoddard
 Hartford Stoddard
 Eli Warren
 Rev. William Warren
 *A. J. Willard
 Uxbridge, Rev. J. J. Abbott
 W. C. Capron
 Rev. Samuel Clarke
 Mrs. Sarah J. Boynton
 Joseph Day
 Charles A. Messenger
 J. F. Southwick
 Calvin Taft
 Luke Taft
 Moses Taft
 Waltham, Rev. T. Hill
 Mrs. Anne Foster Hill
 Ware Village, Joseph Cummings
 Alpheus Demond
 George H. Gilbert
 William Hyde
 Rev. A. E. P. Perkins
 Charles A. Stevens
 Wenham, Rev. J. Taylor
 Westboro', Rev. H. N. Beers
 Jabez G. Fisher
 Rev. L. H. Sheldon
 West Brookfield, Rev. Swift Byington
 West Cambridge, Rev. Daniel R. Cady
 West Needham, Rev. A. R. Baker
 Woburn, Rev. G. T. Dole
 Whitinsville, P. Whitin Dudley
 Samuel Fletcher
 John C. Whitin
 Williamsburgh, Rev. S. C. Wilcox
 Worcester, *J. G. Kendall
 *John W. Lincoln
 Stephen Salisbury
 Mrs. Stephen Salisbury
 *Miss Sarah Waldo
 G. Henry Whitcomb
 Ellen M. Whitcomb
 Mrs. Margaret C. Whitcomb
 Wrentham, Miss Julia A. Hawes

A P P E N D I X.

(A.)

LIBERIAN COTTON.

Six samples of cloth, made in Liberian families from their own cotton, were received from President Benson. They are about eight inches square, from different webs, and in different styles, plain, striped and grey. Rev. J. Orcutt had also received a small lock of unmanufactured cotton in a letter from Thomas Howland, who emigrated from Providence, R. I., in November, 1857. It was grown on his farm, on the St. Paul's river, some fifteen miles or more from Monrovia.

Of course, it was impossible, with only these very insufficient samples, to determine the market value of Liberian cotton in the bale. These were, however, submitted to several of the best judges in Boston, two of whom have favored us with the following replies to our inquiries:

Boston, May 22, 1859.

Dear Sir,—The sample of cotton indicates that the quality is what is called "good middling," worth in Boston about thirteen cents at this time. If the same quality should have in it much leaf, when packed in bulk, it would reduce the price from half a cent to a cent a pound: and if it has dirt also, it might be reduced two cents a pound. But well cleaned, it will be classed as "good middling."

The price of such cotton was as low as seven cents, about the year 1844; since that time it has usually been as high as ten cents. For several years past it has been considerably above that, and in 1857 it was as high as seventeen cents. Of the quality of the cotton in the samples of goods which you send, I cannot judge, except that the staple appears good. If it is discolored, it will reduce the price one half or three quarters of a cent a pound.

I will recommend to you to call on Mr. John Aiken, or on some cotton broker, and obtain samples of the different grades of our cotton, and send them out; writing on each the quality, and price at this time. Then the growers can tell at once, by comparing them with their own growth, and looking at our newspapers, what the price is on any given day. It comes in free of duty.

Yours truly,

AMOS A. LAWRENCE.

Rev. Jos. Tracy, Joy's Building.

Boston, June 6, 1859.

REV. JOSEPH TRACY,

Dear Sir,—A small lock of cotton, said to have been grown in Liberia, Africa, and samples of cloth, said to have been manufactured in Africa, of African cotton, have been shown to me, and I have been asked to give an opinion of the market value of the cotton.

The quantity of cotton shown me was too small to justify any very definite opinion of its market value. And yet from the appearance both of the cotton

and cloth, I judge, that the cotton is strong, of fair length, and of good working qualities. I cannot doubt that such cotton would find a market, at its fair value, to any assignable extent.

Very truly yours,

JOHN AIKEN.

These samples were examined by several other good judges, all of whom concurred in the same opinions. All agreed that bales of cotton, yielding samples, fairly taken, equal to Mr. Howland's little lock, would be worth thirteen cents per pound, and that the cloth had the appearance of being made from cotton worth twelve cents or more. The prices of cotton in Boston at that time—no sea-island being quoted—ranged from 9½ to 13¼ cents.

This settles an important question. It proves that cotton can be grown in Liberia, adapted to the use of American and European manufacturers, and of a quality above the average of that actually used by them. Liberian cotton has no peculiarities which render it useless till new styles of manufacture are devised. It is of a character adapted to meet existing wants, and will be taken, in any quantity, as soon as it can be placed in the market at current prices.

Whether its cultivation in Liberia can, for some years to come, be made profitable, and as profitable as some other pursuits, is a question yet to be decided, and on which opinions differ.

(B.)

AFRICAN COTTON.

As the question of the capacity of Africa to produce cotton has excited some earnest inquiry within a few years, it may be well to state a few of the leading facts in relation to it.

The earliest reference to the subject which we have seen, was made during the reign of Augustus Cæsar. Virgil, *Georgic* II. 120, speaks of *nemora Æthiopum, molli canentia lanâ*; *the forests of the Ethiopians, whitening with soft wool*. He is correct in mentioning it as a product of the forests. It grows wild, of several varieties, some on trees and some on perennial shrubs. Even that raised from American seed, as there are no frosts to kill it, lives several years. As he mentions the cotton of Africa among products supposed to be peculiar to certain countries, he must have regarded it as indigenous. In this, too, he was doubtless correct.

Within a few years, attempts have been made to procure it from various parts of the continent; for it is well known that nearly all parts produce it. In Egypt, it is grown for exportation. The French hope and are attempting to make it profitable in Algeria, and the English in the Natal Colony, at the extreme south-east. Travelers find it wherever they are able to penetrate the interior.

Of the qualities of African cotton, the indications are favorable, but our information is far from being complete. James Macqueen, the African Geographer, who is rather an enthusiastic man on African matters, said, in his testimony before a Committee of the British House of Lords in 1850: "There is cotton also, above all things—cotton of a quality so fine—it is finer cotton than any description of cotton we know of in the world." He probably referred to a well known silky, short-staple cotton growing wild, which has been thought worthless for manufacturing purposes, but from which some of the Liberian women have succeeded in making beautiful fabrics for exhibition at their national fairs. He added: "Common cotton in Africa I

have seen, and had in my possession, which was equal to the finest quality of American cotton. Egyptian cotton is not so good as the cotton away to the south; but the cotton produced in the southern parts of Africa is peculiarly fine."

The Rev. T. J. Bowen, a native of Georgia, says: "Two species of cotton, known to us as the sea-island and upland, are cultivated in Africa. The staple is good. There is a third species in the interior, with very small pods and leaves, and of an unusually fine staple, the flowers of which are red when they first open." This is said when speaking of Liberia. In speaking of Yoruba, he says that "both upland and sea-island cotton are planted."

The London Anti-Slavery Reporter, speaking of cotton procured from Yoruba and its vicinity by agents of the Manchester Cotton Supply Association, says that in England it "sells at from seven pence to nine pence" per pound; that is, from about 14 to 18 cents. This was in 1858. There is some reason to suspect that a high price was given for it, for the sake of stimulating the trade in it. Still it must have been equal to Georgia upland of a good quality. This was cotton procured from the natives.

Little can be ascertained by an examination of the "country cloths," as they are technically called, made by the natives in the interior, from their own cotton. They appear to be made from cotton of good length, strength and fineness of fibre, and to be much alike in this respect. The stock appears to be at least equal to the average of American uplands, and not improbably, better.

On the whole, the evidence appears to be satisfactory, that uncivilized Africa, extensively, produces cotton of the upland variety, and of good quality; that it produces the sea-island variety, but of what quality, we are not informed; and that it produces a third variety, still finer, the value of which, if it has any value, is still to be ascertained. Not improbably, there are still other varieties.

It remains to inquire whether it can be produced, or obtained from the natives, in such quantities and at such prices, as to be of any commercial importance. On these points, the indications are contradictory, and we have no satisfactory means of reconciling them.

It is the opinion of some of the most intelligent Liberians, and others acquainted in Liberia, that the cultivation of cotton may be made a profitable business some years hence, when population and capital shall have largely increased, but not now; and they doubt whether it can ever be made so profitable as sugar, coffee, and perhaps some other productions. Yet some of the best business men in Liberia think otherwise.

About ten years ago, the Manchester Cotton Supply Association, in England, undertook to promote the growth of cotton in Western Africa. Some time in 1850, their agent, Mr. James K. Straw, arrived at Monrovia, with letters of introduction from Lord Palmerston, and made arrangements for planting fifty acres, as an experiment. He made similar arrangements on other parts of the coast. At Sierra Leone, one man, near Freetown, planted forty acres. The American "Mendi" missionaries in the Sherbro country obtained seed and planted cotton. Other parcels were planted along the coast, southward and eastward, for nearly a thousand miles. Nothing of any practical value has yet come of it. The Liberian experiment was said to yield as promising results as any; the cotton being pronounced "white and good," and worth five pence per pound. The same association last year appropriated £25 annually for four years, for the four best samples of Liberia cotton, and four medals annually as second class prizes, and the British Government sent out "ten barrels of superior cotton seed." Those in England best qualified to judge, evidently still think the attempt too hopeful to be abandoned. Whether the Association is still urging the culture in any of the other settlements on the coast, we are not informed.

Mr. Thomas Clegg came to Africa about the same time with Mr. Straw, 1850. He commenced at Sierra Leone, and has labored mainly to procure

cotton from the natives, and promote its cultivation among them. The first year, he was able to collect only about 235 pounds of clean cotton. He was convinced that Sierra Leone was not the place for his experiment, and transferred it to the Slave Coast. Others have continued the attempt at Sierra Leone and the Gambia, but with discouraging results. Three tons is the largest quantity collected, of which we have heard. It does not appear that there is any want of cotton in the interior, but the price is not sufficient to induce the natives to bring it for sale. In their own phrase, the reason is, "too much cotton—too little money." Probably, they find it more profitable to manufacture their cotton and sell the cloth. We shall refer again to these cloths.

On the Slave Coast, Mr. Clegg stationed himself at Lagos, where he has been vigorously aided by Mr. Campbell, the British Consul, who has resided thirty-five years in Africa, and by the Church Missionary Society, which has a flourishing mission at Abbeokuta, fifty-six miles north of Lagos, up the river Ogun, where are several thousand Africans recaptured from slave ships, and more or less civilized and educated at Sierra Leone. Several young Africans were sent to England, and instructed in cleaning cotton and preparing it for the market. Up to March, 1858, he had furnished 157 cotton gins, costing from less than twenty to more than fifty dollars each, besides presses and other implements of the business, which have been bought, mostly by native producers or traders. He has had his agents in the interior, with goods ready to exchange for cotton. By such means, the exports of cotton from Lagos have been raised to 34,491 lbs. in 1856, 114,844 lbs. in 1857, and 220,099 lbs. in 1858. The cost at Abbeokuta was $\frac{1}{4}$ d. per lb. in the seed, yielding one fourth of a pound of clean cotton; and more was offered than could be bought. The whole cost at Lagos was four pence and one farthing per pound, or about eight cents. In the table of exports, however, its value is assumed to be seven pence two farthings, or about fifteen cents. From the estimated number of inhabitants and amount of cotton worn by each, it has been inferred that the annual product of "Yoruba and the adjacent States, is equal to 7,200,000 pounds." By a strange blunder, the under Secretary of State, Fitzgerald, mentioned this estimate, in the House of Commons, as the amount exported to Brazil. Mr. Clegg has evidently selected the right spot for his operations. At Lagos, which commands the boatable river Ogun, with the prestige of British power and aided by the missions and the returned people from Sierra Leone, he has easily established and kept open a favorable communication with the cotton-growing interior.

President Benson believes that the same thing may be done from Monrovia. In his annual message, December, 1856, he says:—

"It is an unquestionable fact, that our interior tribes manufacture hundreds of thousands of domestic cloths annually, which must consume several millions pounds of raw cotton. Thousands of these cloths, through much difficulty, find their way down to the seaboard annually. But if the communication was kept open and they could be assured of a safe transit, and were encouraged by discreet and influential agents to increased cultivation of that useful article, in a very few years, millions of pounds would be brought down annually and exported."

C. M. Waring, Esq., merchant, of Monrovia, writes as follows:—

BOSTON, 6 JUNE, 1859.

REV. JOSEPH TRACY,

Sir,—In reply to your note of 1st inst., making inquiry of me in regard to the production and manufacture of cotton among the natives in the vicinity of Liberia, I make the following answers, all to the best of my knowledge.

1. How many "country cloths," to my best recollection, are annually bought and sold by merchants at Monrovia?

I think, from 2,000 to 3,000; varying in length from two to three and a half yards, and from a yard and a half to two yards wide.

2. Where are they made, and how are they brought to Monrovia?

They are made by the interior tribes, called the Mandingoes, and Goulahs, and brought down by them in quantities on their backs, or in canoes, or worn on their persons.

3. What do the merchants at Monrovia pay for them?

The price varies, according to the size and quality, say, from fifty cents to one dollar. That is, the articles given in exchange are worth that amount in the market.

4. Do the merchants at Monrovia buy all that are offered?

The merchants do not, as there are only four or five of them that buy to sell again; but citizens also buy them for their own use, as well as the Kroomen and Fishmen who reside in the vicinity of Monrovia, and to some extent other tribes. However, I think an increased demand, and higher prices, would induce the natives to bring down larger quantities.

Yours,

C. M. WARING.

These "country cloths" have long been an article of commerce all along the coast, from the Gambia to Loando. American traders frequently buy them to barter for other articles, or to sell at the neighboring islands; giving, at the highest estimate we have heard from any of them, from a dollar to a dollar and a half each. The cotton is spun by women, and woven by old men in webs about five or six inches wide; which are sewed together, to make a "cloth" of the requisite width. A man, Mr. Bowen states, will weave forty yards a day, equal to about seven square yards. One of them, procured at Sherbro by the Rev. E. Burgess, D. D., when there with Mills as an explorer, measures six feet and three inches by four feet and seven inches, equal to about three square yards and one-fifth. It weighs twenty-nine ounces, or about nine ounces to the square yard. It is striped with a very excellent deep blue. This appears to be a favorite color; though they are sometimes striped with yellow, and sometimes left undyed.

Mr. Clegg and Mr. Campbell, already mentioned, have stimulated this trade remarkably on the Slave Coast. According to official returns, there were exported from Lagos, in 1857, 50,000 of these cloths, and 150,000 from other ports on that Coast; in all, 200,000 cloths. They were sent to Brazil, where are many thousands of slaves, natives of Africa. They are said to average $2\frac{1}{2}$ pounds in weight, and estimated, in the returns, at ten shillings, or about two dollars and forty cents, each. This estimate of the average weight appears to be very high, and the price extravagantly high in proportion to the weight. It is more than fifty per cent. above that usually paid by American traders, and more than one hundred per cent. above that paid by Liberian merchants.

If we may judge from these returns, compared with the statements of President Benson and Mr. Waring, it would seem that the interior of Liberia produces "country cloths" much cheaper than Yoruba, and that equal inducements, offered at Monrovia for six or eight years, as at Lagos, would bring down an equal supply.

Of the yield per acre in different parts of Africa, we know almost nothing. It has been asserted that around the Bight of Benin it is as great as in Georgia; and such has been the general impression made by statements concerning other parts. In most crops, a good quality implies a fair quantity. Yet the Rev. T. J. Bowen says of African cotton generally,—“The staple is good, but the yield cannot be more than one-fourth of what it is on similar lands in the Southern States.” It is not quite certain whether he means that the land cannot be made to produce more, or that the actual yield cannot be estimated higher. Apparently, the latter is his meaning. Of Yoruba he says, “Both Upland and Sea-Island cotton are planted; but neither produces very well, owing to the extreme and constant heat of the climate.” Of this, Mr. Bowen, a native of Georgia, must be regarded as a good judge.

This cause of short crops in Yoruba is evidently incurable. It does not exist in equal force in Liberia and its vicinity. Mr. Bowen says: "The average in the dry season is about 80 degrees at Ijaye, and 82 at Ogbomoshaw, and a few degrees lower during the rains. I have never known the mercury to rise higher than 93 degrees in the shade, at Ijaye. The highest reading at Ogbomoshaw was 97.5." These places are from 100 to 150 miles inland. The highest reading ever known at Monrovia was 90; and that only once or twice, and with strong doubts as to the fairness of the exposure. At Careysburgh the temperature is lower than at Monrovia. In the Pessey country, among the cotton weavers, say one hundred miles inland, from May 7 to May 12, George L. Seynour found the range of the thermometer to be from 69 to 81 degrees. The temperature of Liberia and its interior, therefore, is more favorable for cotton than that of Yoruba. The soil is at least equal, and probably much of it is superior, in fertility. The coast is more easily and safely accessible by sea. The St. Paul's is as good for boat navigation, probably, notwithstanding the rapids, as the Ogun. There are no large organized communities of natives to crush the new settlements as soon as their prosperity presents a temptation, and no overshadowing and irresistible British influence on the coast, to control their movements and absorb the profits of their labor.

We subjoin two extracts from the *Liberia Herald*, received since our Report went to press. The first is from the "Report of the Committee of Adjudication of the Second National Fair" to President Benson:

"There were some good specimens exhibited from stalks of American seed planted seven and eight years ago, the same trees producing good cotton for eight successive years. Other specimens of cotton were shown from American seed planted last year. But the principal lots were of native African cotton, and several twenty yard pieces of cotton cloth were manufactured by our citizens from this kind, as well as many socks and stockings. Mrs. Martha Rix, formerly Mrs. Zion Harris, showed some very fine specimens of silk cotton socks made from the cotton of the large silk cotton tree, which grows wild in our forest from 80 to 100 feet high.

"This is perhaps the first time that any one has attempted to apply this species of cotton to any practical purpose. Of the common stock of African cotton there are several varieties, from which the native population of the interior manufacture annually many thousands of country cloths, which they constantly bring to our market for sale or exchange, thus showing that less than a hundred miles interior large quantities of cotton are grown by native industry, which, by a little effort on the part of our merchants and capitalists, might be thrown into our market in the raw material for exportation. We think that it has been fully proven the last year, to the satisfaction of the Americo-Liberian population, that cotton, being indigenous to this part of Africa, and perennial for seven or eight years, may be grown to an indefinite extent in any part of our territory. The only point next to settle to ensure success, is whether we can obtain cheap labor and cheap goods, so as to afford a good article of well ginned and marketable cotton at five or six cents per pound. The growing of cotton as a staple product, we regard as of primary importance; we shall not only recommend it as an experiment to all our population, but contribute our individual quota next year to the national stock."

The second is a short editorial article in the *Herald* of June 1.

"It is strange to us, that our merchants do not pay some attention to the trade in ground nuts and cotton. It is well known that throughout the Vey country these articles are in abundance. Commencing from Little Cape Mount River, there will be found in every rice field, cotton growing in the greatest luxuriance. Extend your observations to the She-bar, and all along,

and for twenty-five miles interiorwards, you will discover the cotton plant. The natives plant it in their farms for domestic purposes, and they would, at once, go readily into the growing of cotton, if inducements were held out to them. Convince them that they will meet with a ready market for all the cotton they may produce, and very soon it will be ascertained, that they will bring the article to the trader, in common with other productions. We have heard from a reliable source, that there may now be procured up the Mannah river, thousands of pounds of cotton in the seed; but no one seems disposed to speculate in it. At the town of "Firo," on that river, cotton may be seen in every hamlet—more than a sufficiency for the use of the people of the town, and the overplus is permitted to waste. Ground nuts are also one of the productions of that part of the Republic, but as there has been no demand for them, no more is raised than is required for home consumption. We invite the immediate attention of our merchants and traders to the importance of encouraging the cultivation of these valuable products. If earnest heed be given to our suggestions, we have not the least doubt, that, in a very few years, a profitable business will be prosecuted in the purchase and sale of these articles."

Here, then, the cotton growing country of the natives is more easily accessible than any where else in Africa. It comes down to the coast. Little Cape Mount is only some twenty-five miles up the coast from Monrovia. Its slave mart, called Digby, has long been suppressed. Twenty-fives miles further is Robertsport, on Grand Cape Mount; beyond which, scattered along at about equal distances for another twenty or twenty-five miles, are the notorious slave marts of Sugury, Manna River, Solyman River, and Gallinas, all in vigorous operation till the annexation to the Republic in 1852, and lately the scene of the doings of the Regina Cœli. From Gallinas to Shebar, or Sherbro, is about seventy miles; making, from Little Cape Mount, 125 miles of native cotton country, right on the sea-shore, with numerous road-steads and landing places for trade. The Vey people are intelligent above the average of natives, and have an alphabet of their own.

ADDRESS OF E. HASKETT DERBY, Esq.

AT THE ANNUAL MEETING.

Massachusetts has never proved recreant to the cause of humanity. Her love for liberty dawned when the pilgrim landed on the rock of Plymouth. It beamed with a clear and steady light during the long struggle with France for religious freedom. It shone forth in full effulgence in the contest with the colossal power of England, both for civil and religious liberty. She accepted the words of the Declaration of Independence, as the truthful expression of her deepest convictions, as the language of her heart. In defence of civil rights, she shed her blood on nearly every contested field, from Maine to Georgia. She met England on the deep, launched the navy of the Union, and vanquished her foe in many a field of ocean whose history is yet to be written. In this eventful contest, Massachusetts expended her last dollar. She pledged her credit. She emerged from the conflict crowned with the victor's wreath, but loaded with a debt, nearly or quite equal to the value of her soil.

But she did not sacrifice in vain. She achieved her freedom; and her vast debt, under the guidance of her patriotic statesmen and the blessing of an overruling Providence, formed a capital for her commerce, to which we may trace much of the prosperity she now enjoys.

Her innate and unconquerable love for freedom was kindled again upon the question, which she believed to be pending, whether our great central region, Kansas, Nebraska, Oregon, California, and New Mexico, should be dedicated to freedom. She colonized California and Oregon with her whalers, and aided in making them free States. She sent out to Kansas and Nebraska her hardy sons, and defended them by her eloquence and treasures. She furnished them with supplies of clothing, provisions, and even cases of musical instruments. Some have ventured to call these instruments "Sharpe's Rifles;" but there was little occasion for cold lead, and I opine that the cases were rightly labeled, and that their music charmed the "ruffians" of the border into submission, as the lyre of Orpheus once charmed the savage rocks and brutes, and as the French settlers in Ohio charmed away the Indians by the music of a cotillion, which they took for a war dance.

If Massachusetts loves liberty, however, and if its corruscations in our sky are, like our northern lights, at times a little eccentric, she yields to none in her philanthropy. She has evinced it in her legislation, in her churches, her schools, colleges and university; in her almshouses, her improved prisons and hospitals; in her institutions for the blind, deaf, insane, idiots, orphans and widows; in her homes for the fallen; and in those institutes she is about to rear from the sales of her land reclaimed from the ocean, which she nobly dedicates to the improvement of the race. She has not confined her sympathies to the white man, but includes the negro also. She has endowed him with the privileges of citizenship, which she trusts will *eventually* be recognized by the courts of the nation.

Massachusetts proscribed the slave-trade long before Wilberforce successfully appealed to the sympathies of England. As early as 1785, when Major Shaw, of Boston, was returning from the first voyage made from America to China, he met at the Cape the ship *Grand Turk*, of Salem, about to return in ballast to America, because her owner would not disgrace himself by taking a cargo of slaves to America; and it is with no little pride that I claim as an ancestor, this early exponent of the spirit of Massachusetts. She did not abolish slavery by express legislation; but her courts decided long since that slavery was incompatible with her laws, and slavery ceased to exist within her boundaries.

She has watched with keen and vivid interest the varied steps of England in her march of beneficence, liberating the slaves in all her islands, arresting the slave caravans in their march across the desert, and the ship laden with its human victims on the deep. She has closely followed the steps of France, Denmark, Holland, and Russia, in their noble efforts to elevate the bondman. And when, in the House of Commons, on the third of March last, two of the most distinguished members, Messrs. Labouchere and Buxton, announced that the official reports from the West Indies now proved that those islands, under free institutions, had attained to a state of happiness, prosperity and progress, such as they had never enjoyed before, had passed in safety through the transition state, and demonstrated that the enslaved race were worthy of their freedom,* Massachusetts heard the report with emotions of heartfelt satisfaction.

While the nations of the world, under the light of Christianity, are combining to suppress the slave-trade; while even Spain and Brazil are under treaties for its suppression, and the latter has liberated the last cargoes which arrived there, Massachusetts feels the stigma which still rests upon our country, and is alive to the efforts of those who would subject our nation to the ineffable disgrace of reviving the slave-trade. She would pave the way for the liberation of every slave upon the continent; but the question is, what is the true policy to accomplish her wishes, in the present position of the country.

There are those who denounce slavery in the abstract, and in that we most heartily concur. But they go one step further, and denounce the planter, who has inherited the institution from his ancestors, or from England. They denounce our associated States. They denounce the Constitution of our common country. They would seize the sword and the fire-brand, and liberate the colored man as he was liberated in St. Domingo, where the sun, for more than half a century, has set upon refinement, civilization and commerce. But Massachusetts, while she respects the rights of the African, and would gladly see him disenthralled, is not ready for such extremes. She is not prepared to renounce all commerce with our southern brethren. She is not ready to demolish our Constitution because some of its pillars are of ebony or of porphyry, and not all of pure Parian marble. She cannot forget that our Constitution is the time-hallowed work of our patriot fathers. She cannot forget the sacrifices upon which it is reared, and the blood by which its foundations were cemented. She cannot forget that it has made us a great, powerful and united nation, strong against all foreign and domestic foes; that it has given us commerce, civil and religious liberty, wealth, population and civilization, and a growth unrivaled in the history of nations. She is not prepared to sacrifice all these in any effort to benefit the colored man. A mighty lever must be used to elevate him, and to extinguish slavery; but she would place its fulcrum in

* Jamaica has recovered more slowly than the other isles, in consequence of its inferior soil, its forced culture of sugar after the revolution in St. Domingo, combined with the pressure of a heavy debt, and the injudicious conduct of its planters after the repeal of the differential duties and of slavery. It is now, however, again progressive.

heaven, not on earth, or the regions under the earth; and she would guide it by the light of Christian charity, science, and intelligence.

And may not this Society be made such a lever? And may it not be applied successfully to the elevation of the negro?

1st. To elevate him, we must first demonstrate that he has a capacity for self-government, and is susceptible of improvement.

2d. We must, to effect this, remove him from all degrading influences.

3d. We must enlist the southerner and the northerner, the master as well as the philanthropist, the whole nation, in the great work of improvement.

4th. We must extinguish the slave trade.

5th. We must civilize Africa.

6th. And, to effect that civilization, we must develope her commerce. And these are the objects of this Society.

What has this Society accomplished? It has colonized 500 miles of the coast of Africa; an extent equal to the sea coast of Maine, New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Rhode Island and Connecticut. It has established an Independent Republican Government, composed entirely of the colored race, with black officers, Judges, Legislators and President. It maintains peace and justice, education and religion. It has civilized many thousand natives, opened an extensive commerce, introduced the arts of life and the culture of cotton, coffee and sugar, to which the soil and climate are admirably adapted. Within a week, several shipments of sugar have arrived from Liberia in New York; and a bark and several schooners have been recently purchased or built by Liberians for the trade. The slave-trade has been suppressed along this coast and in the adjacent Colony of Sierra Leone, and in both, flourishing and self-supporting schools and churches have been established. The specimens of cloth I now exhibit, from cotton raised and spun and wove in Liberia, are a proof of what may be effected; for the cloth and the staple compare well with the American article.

In the two colonies, European dress and European architecture have been introduced, and civilization is making rapid advances. And did we doubt the capacity of the negro, aided by the white missionary, we should find collateral evidence in the West India Isles, where land has risen to \$200 per acre under free institutions, and black lawyers, judges, physicians, have attained to eminent success.

Again, to elevate the negro, we must remove him from the scene of his degradation. If he becomes free in the slave States, he finds labor is disreputable, and he is deprived of civil rights, and he cannot easily rise to distinction in any profession. The stamp of the slave still clings to the freed man, and follows him to the North, where he finds little encouragement, either in the laws or the climate, to remain.

Third. It is urged against this Society, that it is favored by the South, because it removes the free negro from all contact with the slave, and thus lessens the slave's chances for freedom. But what can the free negro effect at the South? His very removal affords the strongest inducement to the master to liberate the slave. While there is one party at the South which defends slavery upon the ground that the negro is but little above the brute creation, incapable of self-government, and most happy in a state of servitude to the Caucasian, a large portion of our Southern planters take more liberal views, believe in his capacity for improvement, and would bring to him the consolations of religion, and were they convinced that he would be transferred to his native clime with a prospect of advancement and happiness, would contribute to his freedom. The dying Southerner, when he has provided in his will for his children, often looks with fond attachment upon his slaves, and while he would not consign them to the degradation of the free negro in his own State, or banish them to the inhospitable North, would often concede them freedom, were a land to be presented to him

where they would enjoy their freedom and rise in the scale of being. The success of the negro in the free Colonies of Liberia and Sierra Leone is a constant and eloquent argument to the slaveholder for the manumission of his slaves.

Among the most zealous in African missions and in African civilization is the Southern Baptist Board of Missions. The Rev. T. J. Bowen and his associates, landing at Badagry and Lagos, have penetrated to the heart of Yoruba, a large and fertile region of the interior of Africa, between the Niger and the sea; a region containing three millions of people, speaking one language, cultivating cotton and maize, making their own cloth and utensils, inhabiting a prairie country, with cities ranging from 20,000 to 80,000 inhabitants. Here a successful mission has been established, and at least twelve missionaries sent out by the extreme South; and they are introducing the light of civilization and religion into the heart of Africa. Here they are building houses, opening roads, and extending the culture of a species of cotton equal in value to the choice qualities of New Orleans; cotton which can be laid down upon the coast at six cents per pound. And while we learn from the South that the slave is licentious and addicted to theft, the free negro in this region is so far advanced above the condition of the bondman, that a child born out of wedlock is most uncommon; and such the honesty of the people, that they leave their produce for sale by the wayside with the price marked upon the article. Such people require not the humanizing influences of slavery for their civilization; and the mission which Southern philanthropy has sent among them, merits our warmest approbation.

Fourth. Another great object of the Society is the suppression of the slave trade, which has desolated Africa with war, and for centuries retarded its progress. And colonies fringing the coast have proved, and will prove, the most cheap and effective agents in the suppression of this disgraceful traffic,—which, I regret to notice, some of our own citizens are seeking to revive, and to which they are toiling in vain to reconcile the world, by newspapers and reviews published both in New York and London.

Fifth. Another and leading object of this Society is, the civilization of Africa; and commerce and civilization are ever in close alliance. To civilize Africa, we must encircle it with colonies; and those very colonies are missions, to introduce commerce, Christianity and the arts of life. The rich soil of Africa is most prolific in the oils, dyewood, wool, cotton and drugs most essential to the arts. A placid sea surrounds her coasts. Harbors are almost unnecessary, as ships receive their lading on the deep.

Africa has many noble rivers,—the Nile, the Niger, the Benue, Zaire and Zambesi,—which offer to commerce at least eight thousand miles of navigation suitable for steamers, and nearly as free from rapids as our Mississippi and Ohio. The southern missionaries to Yoruba are now opening roads to the upper waters of the Niger. These rivers and their roads will be the highways of civilization.

In the last seven years, the commerce of Africa has doubled, and now exceeds \$150,000,000 annually, and it is still in its infancy. Let us glance for a moment at the principal points, and we shall find that wherever Europe and America have come in contact with this continent, there has been a marked and rapid development. At the Cape of Good Hope, we find a flourishing Colony, extensive vineyards, a large production of wine, and vast herds of cattle and flocks of sheep, gradually overspreading the plains occupied by the antelope, the giraffe, the springbok and the buffalo. The exports of wool from the Cape are now 12,000,000 of pounds yearly, and at the present rate of increase, will in eight years exceed the wool crop of the United States; and a new line of packets finds good employment between the Cape and Boston.

On the Eastern Coast we find Zanzibar, which furnishes spices, skins, and buys largely of our manufactures; and the small but fertile islands of Mauritius and Bourbon, which yield annually, under free labor, more than 300,000,000 pounds of sugar; as much as Jamaica and St. Domingo together produced in their palmy days of slavery. We find also the large Island of Madagascar, on which writing was first introduced thirty years ago, and where now ten thousand use writing in business, and the heir apparent is a Christian.

At the Equator, we find ourselves separated from the sources of the Nile and its fertile valley by a narrow belt of territory, and passing the verdant hills of Abyssinia, we come to ancient Egypt. Almost forgotten under the Mamelukes, it was electrified by the touch of Europe when Napoleon landed on its shores. From the days of Joseph, the valley of the Nile has been famed for its fertility; but few of us are aware that its well-watered fields annually yield four successive crops of Indian corn, almost without cultivation, and that it now exports to Europe at least seven millions bushels of wheat, which it lays down this year at Alexandria at seventy cents per bushel. The reigning family have been educated in France. They have given wise and equal laws to their subjects, have constructed vast works for irrigation, opened a canal from Alexandria to the Nile and a railway from the Red Sea to the Mediterranean, enlarged Alexandria from a ruined town of 7,000 people to a city of 120,000 inhabitants, increased the exports and imports to \$36,000,000, and the annual revenue to \$20,000,000, and are now about to open, at a cost of \$40,000,000, a ship canal from the Bay of Pelusium to the Red Sea, 200 feet in width and 24 feet in depth; the most gigantic work of modern times. The Pasha of Egypt displays wit, as well as benevolence. Not long since, he invited the great nations of Europe to send commissioners to inspect the route of his canal; and they traced it for many miles along the bed of the ancient ship canal described by Herodotus. They were presented to him as he sat in his open verandah, and he begged them to put on their hats, as he was himself covered. "But this," says the leader, "is an honor due to crowned heads alone;" to which the Pasha gracefully replied, "But you are the crowned heads of science."

From Egypt, we pass to the Barbary States, renovated by the French occupation of Algiers, which has already trebled their commerce. The corsair no longer issues from their ports to prey on defenceless ships and villages, and no longer do the caravans of slaves cross the Desert to enrich their harems.*

We come next to Morocco, with its twenty millions of sheep and goats, fed on the verdant slopes of Atlas, whose skins are indispensable to our manufactures, whose exports are doubling every ten years, but where not one American House is yet established, although the favorite cloths are "Americanos." We pass to the growing Colonies of France on the Senegal, which she navigates by steamers, and whence she draws those exquisite dyestuffs by which her fabrics are made to excel, in delicate colors, those of all other nations. We follow the West Coast down by Sierra Leone, Liberia, Cape Coast Castle, the Bay of Benin, to the Zaire, or Congo River, a district which furnishes cargoes annually to many hundred vessels. So rapid has been the growth of commerce here since the discontinuance of the slave-trade, that the annual exports of this coast, beside drugs, ivory, coffee and dyestuffs, now exceed 100,000 hogsheads of palm oil and 8,000,000 bushels of ground-nuts, which subsequently reappear in the shape of stearin candles, Castile soap, and oil for our salads.

But one or two ports remain in the Bay of Benin, and a few spots on the fertile coasts of Congo, whence slaves are still exported; and here are regions for new colonies. Here are homes for the Canadian negro, who now

* We hope that reports which have reached us since this was spoken, will not be confirmed.

shivers under the inclement sky of the North. Here is a new field for the extension of this Society. Aided by the sympathy and countenance of the whole civilized world, it can soon hermetically seal Africa to the slave-trade.

Already the avant couriers of commerce and Christianity are entering the interior of Africa, bearing with them the light of civilization. Here, where free labor is worth but a few cowries per day, and where cotton grows spontaneously, the missionary is introducing the cotton-gin and the cotton-press, and inviting the native to make merchandise of cotton, rather than of men; and we may hopefully anticipate that it is one of the designs of a benevolent Providence, to which we may be subsidiary, that when the negroes of our own country have been concentrated in the cotton States by the growing demand for cotton and the growing intelligence of our central States, which already finds in the negro an impediment on the road to wealth, that at length the competition of free labor by the enlightened African, in his own country, with the slave labor of the South, in producing cotton, will alleviate the bonds of the negro of America, and contribute to his eventual emancipation.